

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 219332  
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 SS-15 H-02 PA-02 ICA-20 SP-02  
NSC-05 EB-08 HA-05 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 COME-00  
TRSE-00 SIG-03 /097 R

DRAFTED BY AF/I-LGSHURTLEFF:DFE  
APPROVED BY AF/I-LGSHURTLEFF  
AF/P- BRUSSELL

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R 291936Z AUG 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS STATE 219332

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PINT, EINV, SF

SUBJECT: MR. MOOSE'S TESTIMONY BEFORE HIRC, AUGUST 10

REF: STATE 204226

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM EXCHANGES FOLLOWING MR. MOOSE'S  
AUGUST 10 HIRC TESTIMONY. TEXT OF HIS STATEMENT (REFTEL)  
BEING REPEATED FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

MR. DIGGS. I AM DISTURBED BY TWO OR THREE THINGS THAT  
ARE REFLECTED IN DICK MOOSE'S TESTIMONY. THE ONLY REAL  
QUESTION IS WHETHER A CHANGE WILL BE PEACEFUL OR VIOLENT.  
I DO NOT THINK THAT IS THE ONLY REAL QUESTION. I THINK  
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THE QUESTION OF TIMING IS OF COROLLARY IMPORTANCE, AT LEAST,  
AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE RELYING UPON THE CONSUMMATION  
OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE  
NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN MATTER BEFORE THEY CAN EXPECT TO MOVE  
INTO ANOTHER STAGE IS A QUESTION THAT IS SUGGESTED HERE BY  
DICK MOOSE'S TESTIMONY THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WE  
CAN DO NOW TO PROMOTE CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA  
IS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA  
AND NAMIBIA.

GIVEN THE EXPECTATIONS THAT PARTICULAR MATTER MIGHT BE

SETTLED BY THE END OF THE YEAR, AT THIS TIME NEXT YEAR OR NEXT SPRING, WE MIGHT EXPECT THE ADMINISTRATION TO MOVE IN TO THE NEXT STAGE IN TRYING TO DEAL WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION. APPARENTLY THE WITNESSES SKIRTED AROUND THIS TIME MATTER, BUT PERHAPS I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THAT IS WHAT THEY ARE WAITING FOR, AND SIX MONTHS IS NOT VERY FAR AWAY, AND TO SOME EXTENT THAT DOES SUGGEST SOME BASIS FOR BEING A LITTLE OPTIMISTIC THAT AT LEAST SOME CONSIDERATIONS MIGHT BE A LITTLE MORE IMMINENT THAN WE THINK.

I SEE OBVIOUS INCONSISTENCIES. IT HAS PROBABLY ALREADY BEEN POINTED OUT THAT WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN HAVE INDUCED THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, AND YET ON THE OTHER HAND WE EMPHASIZE WHAT CHANGE OR WHAT STEPS WE HAVE DONE AS IF THEY HAVE REPRESENTED SOMETHING REALLY SIGNIFICANT.

I AM DISAPPOINTED TO THE EXTENT THAT THERE IS NOT SOME INDICATION HERE THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS TAKEN STEPS BECAUSE OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND NOT BECAUSE OF THESE LITTLE THINGS THAT WE HAVE DONE, BUT I AM FURTHER DISTURBED ABOUT UNCLASSIFIED

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THE REFERENCE TO OUR LIMITED OPTIONS. I DO NOT THINK WE HAVE LIMITED OPTIONS. OBVIOUSLY, OPTIONS THAT ARE AVAILABLE TO US HAVE NOT BEEN PURSUED VERY CREATIVELY, AND I HOPE THE STATEMENT OF DICK MOOSE THAT OUR OPTIONS ARE LIMITED DOES NOT SUGGEST A KIND OF LIMITATION, A STRUCTURAL LIMITATION THAT IT WOULD APPEAR TO SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE PEOPLE WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION WHO REALLY BELIEVE THAT OBTAINING SOUTH AFRICA'S CONFIDENCE IS THE KEY TO PEACE IN THAT AREA.

I PERSONALLY DO NOT THINK THAT THAT IS RELEVANT, THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL TAKE STEPS THAT ARE NECESSARY WHEN THEY FEEL THAT THEIR OWN INTERESTS WILL BEST BE SERVED, AND THAT IS WHY THE DIFFERENCE YOU MAKE HERE BETWEEN HOSTILITY TO SOUTH AFRICANS RATHER THAN APARTHEID ADDITIONALLY DISTURB ME, BECAUSE I DO NOT REALLY SEE THE DIFFERENCE, BECAUSE APARTHEID IS THE MENTALITY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, CERTAINLY THE OFFICIAL MENTALITY OF THAT GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS NOT APPARENTLY UNDER ANY THREAT OF CHANGE, PUTS THE TWO THINGS TOGETHER, AND I DO NOT REALLY SEE THE DIFFERENCE, BUT ONE BEGETS THE OTHER, AND THAT THEREFORE THE GOVERNMENT, THE PEOPLE ARE AS MUCH AN ENEMY AS THE CONCEPT OF APARTHEID, CAUSE THAT CONSTITUTES SUCH AN OFFICIAL PART OF THEIR LIFESTYLE AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MAJORITY CITIZENS IN THAT AREA, AND PARTICULARLY WHEN YOU HAVE NOT SEEN THEM TAKE ANY STEP THAT REALLY FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGES ANYTHING. YOU ARE SORT OF REINFORCED IN THAT REGARD.

SO, IN SUMMARY, I DO NOT KNOW. AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, THERE WAS AN ENCOURAGING ANNOUNCEMENT MADE THAT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE REVIEWED AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS BASED UPON THAT REVIEW WOULD BE FORTHCOMING. OBVIOUSLY, THERE HAS BEEN SOME MANIFESTATION OF CHANGE, AND COMMENDABLE CHANGE, BUT IN TERMS OF A POLICY AS IT RELATES TO SOUTH AFRICA, IF SUCH A POLICY HAS BEEN DEVELOPED, I HAVE NOT

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SEEN IT, AND I DO NOT KNOW WHAT THE CURRENT STATUS OF THAT REVIEW IS, WHETHER OR NOT IT IS IN SOME FORM SOME PLACE WHERE SOMEBODY CAN LOOK AT IT AND MAKE SOME KIND OF JUDGMENT AS TO THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT MAY HAVE COME OUT OF THAT REVIEW, OR WE MIGHT ANTICIPATE COMING OUT OF THAT REVIEW.

SO BASED UPON THAT, IF MR. SECRETARY MOOSE OR ANY OF YOU, HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE PANEL, WOULD CARE TO MAKE ANY RESPONSE TO THAT, THE FLOOR IS THERE, AS WE WILL BE SUBMITTING SOME QUESTIONS IN WRITING FOR WRITTEN RESPONSE.

MR. MOOSE. I WOULD LIKE TO RESPOND TO SOME OF THOSE POINTS, MR. CHAIRMAN. I MUST SAY THAT I THINK THAT IS AN INCISIVE AND FAIR COMMENTARY ON THE TESTIMONY. I STARTED TO ASK YOU IF OTHER THAN THAT, YOU LIKED THE TESTIMONY.

(GENERAL LAUGHTER.)

MR. MOOSE. I WOULD LIKE TO COMMENT DIRECTLY ON ONE POINT, YOUR CONCERN ABOUT THERE BEING SOME SECRET, UNWRITTEN AGREEMENT OF RESTRAINT ON OUR PART IN RETURN FOR CERTAIN ACTIONS OR POLICIES ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. I WOULD LIKE TO CATEGORICALLY DENY AND ASSURE YOU THAT NO SUCH UNDERSTANDING EXISTS, AND IT IS UNTHINKABLE THAT WE WOULD PROCEED ON THAT BASIS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

IN TERMS OF THE STATEMENT ABOUT THE MOST USEFUL THING WE CAN DO, THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE THING WE CAN DO AT THIS MOMENT IS TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. AMONG THE THINGS THAT ONE MIGHT REASONABLY EXPECT TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE IMMEDIATE TIME FRAME, WHAT SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENT IS PERHAPS WITHIN OUR GRASP AT THE MOMENT? IT IS IN THAT SENSE THAT I MENTION RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. NAMIBIA SEEMS TO BE WITHIN ARM'S REACH OF SETTLEMENT, AND RHODESIA IS AS WELL. THE SITUATION OFFERS PROSPECTS

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IF WE WERE TO SUCCEED IN OUR EFFORTS IN THOSE TWO AREAS, OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS THERE WOULD PLAY BACK INTO THE LARGER SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION. I DO NOT MEAN TO IMPLY THAT THERE HAS TO BE A SEQUENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE NAMIBIAN, RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEMS. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA OUGHT TO HAVE TO STAND IN LINE FOR JUSTICE AND THAT IS NOT WHAT WE INTEND. BUT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE MOMENT ARE THAT THESE OTHER TWO ISSUES PRESENT THEMSELVES TO US IN THE FORM WHERE THEY PROBABLY WILL EITHER BE RESOLVED OR FAIL IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, AND SUCCESS THERE WOULD MEAN A GREAT DEAL, I THINK, IN THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ON THE QUESTION OF OUR DESIRE TO OBTAIN IN SOME WAY THE CONFIDENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS, I THINK THERE ARE TWO ELEMENTS TO CONSIDER. I WOULD NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO BE NAIVE IN THE FACE OF ALL OF THE EVIDENCE ABOUT THE PSYCHOLOGY AND THE DISPOSITION OF THE AFRIKANER. AT THE SAME POINT, I DO NOT THINK WE ARE AT A POINT WHERE WADP924 UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 219332  
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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SIG-03 /024 R

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APPRO ED BY:AF/E:GBEYER  
NEA/JCOLLINS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO RUTABA/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 0000

AMEMBASSY ANTANANARIVO

AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

AMEMBASSY VICTORIA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY SANA

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

UNCLAS STATE 219332

FOL STATE 219332 SENT ACTION LAGOS

MAPUTO DARES SALAAM LUSAKA GABORONE USUN AUG 29, 1978

QUOTE UNCLAS STATE 219332

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POINT, I DO NOT THINK WE ARE AT A POINT WHERE WE CAN SAY THAT THERE IS NO REGENERATIVE CAPACITY, NO CAPACITY FOR REDEMPTION AMONG THE AFRIKANER POPULACE. I THINK THERE ARE MANY, MANY SINCERE PEOPLE THERE WHO ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THEIR COUNTRY, AND I THINK THAT WE NEED TO TAKE CARE THAT BY OUR ACTIONS WE DO NOT MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THOSE PEOPLE TO BE THE NUCLEUS OF POSITIVE CHANGE AND EVOLUTION IN THAT SOCIETY.

I THINK, SECOND, WE DO HAVE TO, REFERRING BACK TO WHAT I SAID ABOUT RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, MAINTAIN AN ELEMENT OF TRUST IN SOUTH AFRICA, TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. IN NAMIBIA, WHERE THEY ARE IN A WHOLLY ILLEGAL POSITION, THEY HAVE NEVERTHELESS COOPERATED AND WORKED WITH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION. BECAUSE THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE CONCERNED THEY CAN AND HAVE IN THE PAST, AND CAN IN THE FUTURE, PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN RHODESIA. FURTHERMORE, FOR US TO REINFORCE THE MISIMPRESSION WHICH HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY STIMULATED IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE IMPLACABLY OPPOSE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA, I THINK, WOULD WORK AGAINST US. SO I WOULD WANT TO JUST MAKE THOSE COMMENTS, MR. CHAIRMAN. I KNOW HOW SINCERELY AND DEEPLY YOU FEEL ABOUT THESE ISSUES. WE HAVE TALKED ABOUT THEM.

I THINK YOU KNOW THAT WE ARE NOT HAPPY AND CONTENT WITH THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT WE DO INTEND TO REMAIN TRUE TO OUR PROMISE TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR AN END TO APARTHEID, A BEGINNING OF A POLITICAL DIALOGUE AMONG ALL SOUTH AFRICANS AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE GOVERNMENT. FINALLY

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER AN ENTIRE UNCLASSIFIED

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RANGE OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE THOSE ENDS.

MR. DIGGS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH, AND ON BEHALF OF THE JOINT SUBCOMMITTEES, WE THANK THE PANEL FOR A VERY INTERESTING SET OF TESTIMONIES.

MR. MOOSE. THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN. CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE VANCE

NOTE BY OC/T: ORIGINAL DISTRIBUTION: AF/IO,ISO,SS,H,PA,ICA,SP,NSC, HA,INRE,COME,TRSE,SIG.

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**Draft Date:** 29 aug 1978  
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**Litigation History:**  
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**Message ID:** 6ad5f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
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**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Reference:** STATE 204226  
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**Review Date:** 29 mar 2005  
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**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1588951  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MR. MOOSE'S TESTIMONY BEFORE HIRC, AUGUST 10  
**TAGS:** PINT, EINV, SF, (MOOSE, RICHARD M)  
**To:** LAGOS MAPUTO MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/6ad5f759-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
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